## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-09 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 096499

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNGA, EGEN, UK (MAITLAND, DONALD)

SUBJECT: MAITLAND-BUFFUM CONSULTATIONS ON UNGA 7TH SPECIAL SESSION, APRIL 18.

VIENNA FOR UNIDO

1. SIR DONALD MAITLAND, DEPUTY UNDER-SECRETARY, UK FCO MET WITH IO ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM TO DISCUSS PREPARATIONS FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION. MAITLAND HAD SEEN FOREIGN MINISTER CALLAGHAN APRIL 15, WHO HAD IMPRESSED ON HIM THAT HE ATTACHES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO KEEPING IN CLOSE CONFIDENTIAL

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TOUCH WITH THE UNITED STATES IN OUR JOINT EFFORTS TO RESTORE SOME SENSE TO THE UN DIALOGUE. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. WERE IN MUCH GREATER DEPTH THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY AND THEY WISHED TO KEEP IT ON A BILATERAL BASIS

## FOR THE PRESENT.

- 2. THE BRITISH STRATEGY AND TIMETABLE WERE BASED ON THREE PROPOSITIONS:
- (1) THERE WAS NO DENYING THAT THE WORLD ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, BASED ON THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM,

WHICH HAD SERVED US WELL IN THE PAST, NEEDED REFORM; INEQUITIES DID EXIST AND INTERDEPENDENCE WAS A FACT.

- (2) THE GLOBAL APPROACH, INSTANT NIEOS TO BRING ABOUT ALL CHANGES AT ONCE WAS WHOLLY MISCONCEIVED. A GREAT DEAL OF WORK WAS ALREADY GOING ON TO RESOLVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE LDCS. THE PRACTICE SHOULD BE TO NEGOTIATE ON PROBLEMS IN THE APPROPRIATE FORUM TO WORK OUT WHAT WAS POSSIBLE FOR THETIME BEING BY FINDING COMMON GROUND. WIDE SWEEPING DECLARATIONS WERE NOT ONLY INEFFECTIVE BUT POSITIVELY HARMFUL IN POLITICAL TERMS.
- (3) THE INDUSTRIAL STATES SHOULD ACCEPT THE NEED FOR CHANGE AND SHOULD COME FORWARD WITH THEIR OWN IDEAS. THEY SHOULD STAND UP FOR THEIR PRINCIPLES TOGETHER AND REFUSE TO ACCEPT DECLARATIONS ATTACKING THEIR BASIC INTERESTS. SUGGESTING AN ALTERNATIVE COURSE HAD AN ELEMENT OF CHALLENGE BUT WE SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR ACHIEVEMENTS IN BETTERING THE LIFE OF THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF THE LDCS WERE GREATER BY FAR THAN THOSE RESULTING FROM THE ALGERIAN STRATEGY (WHICH WERE NIL).
- 3. BUFFUM SAID THE UK'S PERCEPTION WAS VERY SIMILAR TO OURS. WE HAD FOUND THE BRITISH THREE TIER APPROACH TO BE A USEFUL INITIATIVE. IN RESPONSE TO BUFFUM'S QUESTION, MAITLAND SAID THAT THEY ENVISAGED A FIRST TIER STATEMENT WHICH WOULD ARTICULATE THE PRINCIPLES OF A NEW WORLD COMMUNITY. IT WOULD RELATE TO THE REALITIES OF THE WORLD OUTSIDE AND ITS ADOPTION WOULD IMPROVE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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IMAGE OF THE UN. THE SECOND TIER WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT WAS THERE THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD LEAD TO IMPROVEMENTS.

4. MAITLAND OUTLINED THIS TIMETABLE: AT THE APRIL 29-MAY 6 COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTER'S CONFERENCE, WHERE THERE WOULD BE A REPRESENTATIVE CROSS SECTION OF LDCS, THE BRITISH WOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND PRESENT A SERIES OF GENERAL COMMITMENTS AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON COMMODITIES WHICH WOULD REPRESENT THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO TIER TWO. THERE MIGHT BE ABOUT A 6-4 CHANCE OF GAINING ACCEPTANCE FOR AT LEAST SOME OF THEM. AFTER BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN CAPITALS, THE BRITISH PROPOSE TO

PRESENT TO THE MAY 27 OECD MEETING, CHAIRED BY CALLAGHAN, A DRAFT TIER ONE DECLARATION AND A DRAFT OECD MINISTERIAL DECLARATION ON RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. HE

PRESENTED COPIES TO BUFFUM AND REQUESTED U.S. COMMENTS WHEN HE PASSED THROUGH WASHINGTON MAY 7.

- 5. BUFFUM SAID THAT THIS WAS A SPLENDID BEGINNING AND THAT IT MIGHT PROVIDE A CENTERPIECE NEEDED TO AVOID CONFRONTATION. WHILE THE BRITISH HAD DONE MORE DRAFTING, WE WERE WORKING ON KEY ITEMS FOR TIER TWO. IN ENSUING DISCUSSIONS, THERE WAS SOME QUESTION ABOUT THE PARAMETERS OF TIER THREE. THE BRITISH BELIEVED TIER THREE, POST-PONED ITEMS SUBJECT TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION, WAS NEEDED BECAUSE OTHERWISE THE LDCS WOULD REGARD ITAS A RETREAT FROM THE PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE 6TH SESSION.
- 6. AFTER OUR MAY 7 DISCUSSIONS, THE BRITISH PLAN TO CIRCULATE COPIES OF THE TWO DECLARATIONS TO OECD CAPITALS IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING. MAITLAND ENVISAGED A PROGRAM OF NEGOTIATIONS FROM KINGSTON THROUGH THE OECD, THE SECOND PREPCOM, ECOSOC, ETC. WHERE THE SPECIAL SESSION WOULD BE IN EFFECT A SECOND PARLIAMENTARY READING WITH DETAILED NEGOTIATION IN THE 1976 UNCTAD, FOLLOWED PERHAPS BY A SPECIAL CONFERENCE LATER
- 7. BUFFUM BELIEVED THAT SUBJECT TO CONSULTATIONS WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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OTHER BUREAUS INVOLVED, WE WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE BRITISH APPROACH AND TO GIVE THEM THE GO-AHEAD.

- 8. MACKENZIE OF UKUN WAS ALSO PRESENT AND REMARKED THAT THIS STRATEGY DEPENDED ON AGREEMENT AMONG THE WEOS ON HOW WE TREATED THE TWO RESOLUTIONS OF THE 6TH SPECIAL SESSION AND THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES (CERDS). IT WAS PLAIN THAT THE SOVIETS WERE GOING TO USE THE CERDS ON EVERY POSSIBLE OCCASION TO ALIGN THEM-SELVES WITH THE GROUP OF 77. BUFFUM SAID THAT WE SHOULD WORK OUT AGREED FORMULAE ON HOW THE PLAN OF ACTION ON THE NIEO AND THE CERDS COULD BE REFERRED TO IN UN RESOLUTIONS IN A MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO US.BECAUSE SUCH IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES WERE INVOLVED, IT WAS NECESSARY TO BE FIRM AND MAINTAIN DC UNITY SO THAT OUR POSITIONS WOULD NOT BE GRADUALLY ERODED AWAY. IT WAS AGREED A U.S. PROPOSAL ON HOW TO HANDLE THENIEO AND THE CERDS WOULD BE HANDED THEBRITISHAT THE MAY 7 MEETING FOR POSSIBLE DISCUSSION AT THE LATE MAY OECD MEETING.
- 10. MAITLAND SAID THAT THE NIEO AND THE CERDS COULD NOT BE REMOVED FROM THE RECORD BUT WE COULD SET OFF ON A

DIFFERENT ROAD. IT WOULDBE ABADRESULT, OF COURSE,

IF THE RADICAL LDCS PUSHED AN EXTREME DRAFT THROUGH BY USE OF ITS AUTOMATIC MAJORITY, DESPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS. THIS WOULD HAVE IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STANDING OF THE UN. A KEY OBJECTIVE FOR THE WEOS IN COMING MONTHS WOULD BE TO MAINTAIN THE SOLIDARITY EXHIBITED AT THE PARIS PREPCON. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED Concepts: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS,

COMMONWEALTH, MEETINGS

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE

Draft Date: 25 APR 1975 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 **Decaption Note:** 

Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date: Disposition Authority: CunninFX Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIENT Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE096499
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00

**Document Unique ID: 00** 

Drafter: IO/CMD:WWWOODBURY:LYM

Enclosure: n/a

Executive Order: 11652 GDS Errors: n/a Film Number: D750147-0896

From: STATE Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197504104/baaaaiah.tel

Line Count: 173 Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM Office: ORIGIN IO

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4

**Previous Channel Indicators:** 

Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: n/a Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED

Review Authority: CunninFX Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 07 APR 2003

**Review Event:** 

Review Exemptions: n/a

Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <16 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>

**Review Markings:** 

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State **EO Systematic Review** 05 JÚL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:** Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE Subject: n/a

TAGS: EGEN, UK, UNGA, (MAITLAND, DONALD)

To: LONDON

USUN N Y INFO OECD PARIS EC BRUSSELS

**GENEVA** VIENNA

KINGSTON
Type: TE
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